686b

Sp. II. 429.

ha-am-ma-na-bi

šu-ba-tiu?

mu-kal:...

(, ...)

col. III. l. 7. bi-lum mu-tu:
8. šu-ki-in me-ki ...

(col. I. l. 14 ... šum-šu ...
" l. 25 na-'
col. II. l. 9. mu-...
u-tu-uh-di-in
mu-ša-ak-li-in ...

l. 15. ša lik-mat li-ia-um
16. ma-te-ú ah Nar-ki
18. mu-ut-ki-il
šu(?) ... ma-lu-ti-il
24. ... šu ...

finis 20/7 92.

686c

Rev. col. VI.

li- ib- li-ia-bi- ib- bi
ša Šu- la- il aplu da- num
mār sin- mu- ba- li- it

ki-ih-ma-a

finis 21/7 92.

ziiu niši kaimanu zubutum

a-na ga-na-šu:

ga-ma-al la ma-a-ti:..

ša i-ki-ša-am ...

col. IV.

UMBS F 93.

§87' II [ ]ka-šu
[ ]an-šu
[ú-ta-ar]ru-šum

§88' 5 šum-ma ta[mkārum]-um kaspam^am !
a-na HAR-RA [id-d]i-in
a-na 1 GUR.E 1 (ŠE) MAŠ ? 1 PI 4 sūt
i-li-ik-ki
šum-ma kaspam a-na HAR-RA id-di-in
10 a-na 1 šiklim kaspim^im 20 %
IGI 6.GÁL 6 ŠE MAŠ
i-li-ik-ki

§89' šum-ma a-wi-l[um]
15 ša hu-bu-ul-lam [i-š]u-ú
kaspam a-na tu[-ur-ri]-im
la i-šu še-a-am-ma [i-]šu
ki-ma ṣi-im-da-[at] šarrim
[ ]a-na MAŠ.BI x[ ]x-ma
20 i- li- ki

§90' šum-ma tamkarum MA[Š .....]x
[ ]x x 1 GUR [ ]
[ ]x [ ]x
IGI 6.GÁL 6 Š[E .....]x
25 ú-ša-at-te-ir-m[a]
il-ki i-na m[i-im-ma]
ša id-di-nu i-te-el-li]

§91' šum-ma tamkarum še[-a-am]am
30 a-na MAŠ [id-di-in-ma]
MAŠ ma-[ ]x
še-a-im kaspam x[ ]
il-te-ki ma[ ]x x
še-am ù kasp[im]x
35 ú- ne [ ]
[ ]

§ 93' [

ḫi-lu še[-
ma-la i[m-ḫu-ru ?]
la uš-ta-aḫ-ri-[iṣ-ma]
ṭup-pa-am e-eš-ša-am la iš-ṭú-ur
5 ḫi-lu ṣi-ba-tim a-na SAG.DU
ut-te-eḫ-ḫi
tamkarrum šu-ú še-am mala il-ki-
uš-ta-ša-an-na-ma ú-ta-a-ar

§ 94' 10 šum-ma tamkarrum še-am ù kaspam^{am}
a-na ḫu-bu-ul-li-im id-di-in-ma
i-nu-ma a-na ḪAR.RA id-di-nu
kaspam^{am} i-na ab-ni-im ma-ṭi-tim
ù še-am i-na GIŠ.BÁN ma-ṭi-tim
15 id-di-in
ù i-nu-ma im-ḫu-ru
kaspam^{am} i-na ab-ni-im [ra-bi-tim]
še-[am] i-na GIŠ.BÁN ra-bi-tim]
im-ḫu-u[r tamkarrum šu-ú]
20 i-na m[i-im-ma id-di-nu]
i-[te-el-li]

§ 95' šum-ma [tamkarrum] ....]
a-na ḫu-b[u-ul-li-im id-di-in-ma]
25 x x x [ ]x
id-di-in
i-na mi-im-m[a i]d-di-nu
i-te-[e]l-li

§ 96' 30 šum-ma a-wi-lum
še-am ù kaspam it-ti tamkarrim
il-ki-e-ma
še-am ù kaspam a-na tu-ur-ri-im
la i-šu-ú
35 bi-ša-am-ma i-šu
mi-im-ma ša i-na qá-ti-šu
i-ba-aš-šu-ú
ma-ḫar ši-bi ki-ma ub-ba-lu
a-na tamkari-šu i-na-ad-di-in
40 tamkarrum ú-ul ú-pa-az
i-ma-ḫa-ar

nach DT 81 rev.

UMBST 93

§ 97 III [ ]
2id-da-ak

§ 98 šum-ma a-wi-lum a-na a-wi-lim
5 Ka-spam a-na TAB.BA id-di-in
ne-me-lam ù bu-tu-uq-qá-am
ša il-ba-šu-ú ma-ḫar ilim
mi-it-ḫa-ri-iš i-zu-uz-zu

§ 99 10 šum-ma tamkarrum
a-na šamallim
Kaspam a-n[a]
x x x ri-[im]
id-di-in-ma
15 a-na KAS it-ru-uz-zu
šamallum i-na KAS
x [ ]x x -tim
x [ ]x x x

§ 100 20 [šum-ma a-šar] il-li-ku
[ne-me-la]m i-ta-mar
[ṣi-ba-a-at Kaspim ma-la il-qú-ú
[i-sa-ad-dar-ma]

usw.

KEILSCHRIFTTEXTE

DER

GESETZE ḪAMMURAPIS

AUTOGRAPHIE DER STELE

SOWIE DER

ALTBABYLONISCHEN, ASSYRISCHEN UND NEUBABYLONISCHEN FRAGMENTE

VON

ARTHUR UNGNAD



LEIPZIG
J. C. HINRICHS'sche BUCHHANDLUNG
1909

Druck von August Pries in Leipzig.

Vorbemerkungen.

Die vorliegende Sammlung der Keilschrifttexte der Gesetze Ḫammurapis beabsichtigt vor allem, das ein wenig zerstreute Material in bequemer Weise für Vorlesungszwecke zu vereinigen.

Inbetracht kommen hier folgende Textklassen:

1. Der Text der Stele.

Dieses jetzt im Louvre befindliche Denkmal, das die französischen Ausgrabungen in Susa während des Winters 1901/02 zutage förderten, bildet die Grundlage der Gesetze Ḫammurapis. Die Stele enthielt ursprünglich 23 Kolumnen auf der Vorder-, und 28 auf der Rückseite; indes wurden von den 23 Kolumnen der Vorderseite die letzten sieben[1] (also XVII—XXIII) von dem elamitischen Eroberer, der das Denkmal nach Susa geschleppt hatte, getilgt, um eine später jedoch nicht zur Ausführung gekommene Inschrift des Elamiten aufzunehmen. Unserer Ausgabe zugrunde gelegt wurden die Heliogravüren in der ersten Ausgabe der Stele von V. SCHEIL.[2]

2. Altbabylonische Fragmente.

Während des weiteren Verlaufs der Ausgrabungen in Susa wurden noch 3 altbabylonische Fragmente des Kodex gefunden, die von SCHEIL[3] in Heliogravüren publiziert wurden. Zum Teil ergänzen diese die Lücke[4] der Stele; es entspricht:

Frgm. I,	Kol. I	= Kod. XVI 21—44.
	Kol. II	= Kod. XVII 2—26.
	Kol. III	= Kod. XVIII 3—23.
Frgm. II,	Kol. I	= Kod. XVIII 51—63.
	Kol. Ir	= Kod. XXVIIIr 37—46.
Frgm. III,	Kol. I	= Kod. IVr 74—Vr 4.
	Kol. II	= Kod. Vr 12—27.
	Kol. III	= Kod. Vr 35—49.
	Kol. Ir	= Kod. XXVIr 93—98(?).
	Kol. IIr	= Kod. XXVIIr 42—49.
	Kol. IIIr	= Kod. XXVIIr 101—105.

1) Vgl. A. UNGNAD, *Die Lücke in der Gesetzesstele Ḫammurapis. Beitr. z. Ass. u. vergl. sem. Sprachw.* VI 5 (1909), S. 144 ff.

2) *Délégation en Perse. Mémoires publiés sous la direction de M. J. de Morgan.* Tome IV: *Textes élamites-sémitiques, deuxième série, par* V. SCHEIL. Paris 1902.

3) *Délégation*, Tome X, Pl. 9.

4) Über die Einordnung dieser sowie der anderen Fragmente in die Lücke der Stele vgl. den Anm. 1 zitierten Aufsatz.

3. Assyrische Fragmente.

Diese Abschriften entstammen sämtlich der Bibliothek Ašurbânipals (668—626 v. Chr.). Sie befinden sich jetzt im Britischen Museum.[1] Sie wurden von MEISSNER (a-l und n)[2] und KING (m)[3] publiziert. Es sind die folgenden Texte:

a. K 4223.
   Kol. Ir = Kod. IX 40—X 15.
   Kol. IIr = Kod. X 65—XI 36.
b. K 8905.
   Kol. IIIr = Kod. XIII 32—49.
   Kol. IVr = Kod. XIV 56—65.
c. K 10483.
   Kol. Ir = Kod. XII 55—62.
   Kol. IIr = Kod. XIV 7—18.
d. K 10485.
   Kol. IIIr = Kod. Ir 39—48.
   Kol. IVr = Kod. IIr 59—65.
e. K 11571.
   Kol. I = Kod. XXIIIr 64—73.
   Kol. IIIr = Kod. XXVIIIr 72—81.
f. Sm. 26.
   Kol. IIIr = Kod. XXIr 95—XXIIr 2.
   Kol. IVr = Kod. XXIIr 76—83.
g. Sm. 1008a.
   Kol. Ir = Kod. X 16—22.
   Kol. IIr = Kod. XI 37—45.
h. Sm. 1642 = Kod. XXIr 37—44.
i. Sm. 1672 ist wohl im Kodex nicht erhalten.
k. Rm. 277.
   Kol. I = Kod. XV 60—XVI 5.
   Kol. II = Kod. XVII 9—32.
   Kol. III = Kod. XVIII 34—42.
   Kol. IIr = Kod. IIr 9—15.
   Kol. IIIr = Kod. IIIr 7—29.
   Kol. IVr = Kod. IVr 13—26.
l. DT 81.
   Kol. II = Kod. XVIII 3—17.
   Kol. III = Kod. XIX 25—41.

1) Eine Kollation der betreffenden Tafeln, die übrigens nur wenig Neues ergeben hätte, mußte unterbleiben.

2) *Beitr. z. Ass. u. vergl. sem. Sprachw.* III, S. 493 ff.

3) *Cuneiform Texts* XIII, Pl. 46 f. Der von KING veröffentlichte Text (m) unterscheidet sich in mancher Hinsicht von den anderen assyrischen Fragmenten.

Kol. Ir = Kod. XXIII 7—20.
Kol. IIr = Kod. Ir 29—43.
Kol. IIIr = Kod. IIr 49—58.

m. Bu. 91—5—9, 221.
Kol. I = Kod. XXIIIr 56—68.
Kol. II = Kod. XXIVr 18—31.
Kol. III = Kod. XXIVr 79—94.
Kol. Ir = Kod. XXVIIIr 11—35.
Kol. IIr = Kod. XXVIIIr 83—91.

n. K 8321: die Zugehörigkeit zum Kodex ist nicht gesichert.

Eine assyrische Abschrift ist wohl auch das im Besitz von H. POGNON befindliche Fragment, von dem SCHEIL[1] die den § 53 enthaltende Stelle in folgender Umschrift gibt:

1. Šum-ma a-wi-lum
a-na kâr eqli-šu
du-un-nu-ni
a-aḫ-šu id-di-ma
5. kâr-šu la u-da-ni-in-ma
i-na kâri-šu bi(pi)-tum
it-te-ip-te
u ugarum me-e uš-ta-bi-il
a-wi-lum
10. ša i-na kâri-šu bi(pi)-tum
ip-pi(bi)-tu-u
šeam ša u-ḫal-li-ku
i-ri-a-[ab].

4. Neubabylonische Fragmente.

Die Texte befinden sich im Berliner Museum; sie werden hier zum erstenmal im Originaltext publiziert.[2] Es sind die Tafeln:

a. VAT 991.
Kol. I = Kod. VIIIr 62—IXr 9.
Kol. II = Kod. IXr 52—71.
Kol. III = Kod. Xr 33—47.

b. VAT 1036 = Kod. XIIr 60—71.

Die verschiedenen Textklassen des Kodex weisen eine nicht unerhebliche Anzahl von Fehlern auf, die im folgenden richtig gestellt sein mögen.

1. Der Text der Stele.

Kol. II 17 lies wohl *UNU* statt *AB*;
III 31 lies *zu* statt des nicht ganz sicheren *su*;
IV 12 lies *KA* statt *NAK*;
IV 16 lies *im* statt *in*;
IV 17 ergänze wohl *šá* am Anfang;
IV 26 lies vielleicht *KI* statt *NA*;
VI 30 lies *šá* statt *ta*;
VI 48 lies *lim* statt *lum*;
IX 62 lies *ki* statt *di*;
Kol. XI 34 lies *ar* statt *ri*;
XI 61 lies *ki* statt *di*;
XI 66 lies *GUD* statt *BI*;
XII 9 lies *in* statt *i*;
XII 51 lies *šá* statt des nicht ganz sicheren *ta*;
XIII 62 lies wohl *ku* statt *lu*;
XIII 66 lies *zu* statt *su*;
XIII 67 lies *ir* statt *ni*;
XIV 45 ergänze *ŠE* hinter *A.ŠÀ*;
XIV 59 ergänze *ŠE ù lu* am Anfang;
XVI 51 lies *a-na* statt *A.ŠÀ*;
XVI 76 lies wohl *ki-ma* statt *a-na*;
IIr 7 lies *ḫar* statt *ḫi*;
IIr 46 lies *KAK* statt *NI*;
IIr 47 lies wohl *ki* statt *di*;
IIr 62 ergänze *di* hinter *id*;
IIr 69 tilge *nu*;
IVr 6 lies *lim* statt *lum*;
IVr 20 lies *ku* statt *lu*;
IVr 71 ist der Trennungsstrich zu tilgen;
IVr 75 sollte durch Trennungsstrich in zwei Zeile zerfallen;
Vr 19 tilge vielleicht *šú*;
Vr 61 lies wohl *zu* statt *su*;
VIr 76 lies wohl *DAM* statt *SAL + ME*;
VIIr 30 lies *KAK* statt *NI*;
VIIr 40 lies *ki* statt des nicht ganz sicheren *di*;
VIIIr 14 lies wohl *DAM* statt *SAL + ME*;
VIIIr 51 lies vielleicht *maḫ* statt *tam*;
IXr 66 fehlt der Trennungsstrich;
Xr 1 lies *šú* statt *ši*;
Xr 8 lies *ta* statt *šá*;
XIr 31 lies *bi* statt *ta*;
XIr 85 tilge *nu-um*;
XIIr 33 lies wohl *na* statt *di*;
XIIr 73 lies *šá* statt *ta*;
XVr 48 ergänze *ru* hinter *iš*;
XVr 79 lies *KÁ* statt *Ê*;
XVIr 80 lies *zu* statt *ba*;
XVIIr 50 ergänze vielleicht *mâr* vor *a-wi-lim*;
XVIIr 56 lies *PAD* statt *GAR*;
XVIIr 71 lies *ni* statt *kak*;
XVIIIr 41 ergänze *i* hinter *ši*;
XVIIIr 61 lies *NI* statt *KAK*;
XVIIIr 79 lies *kab* statt *id*;
XVIIIr 92 lies wohl *pi-id* statt *da*;
XIXr 25 lies vielleicht *šîmi-šú* statt *kaspim*;
XIXr 53 lies wohl *ib* statt *bu*;
XIXr 70 lies *ku* statt *lu*;
XXIr 24 ergänze *pi* hinter *tap*;
XXIr 85 lies *ni* statt *kak*;
XXIIr 78 lies *id* statt *da* und *ḫar* statt *ḫi*;
XXIIr 82 lies *gu* statt *amtu*;
XXIIIr 16 lies *it* statt *da*;
XXIIIr 62 ist der Trennungsstrich zu tilgen;
XXIIIr 89 lies *um* statt *ma*;
XXIIIr 91 lies *ku* statt *lu*;
XXIIIr 92 lies *ga* statt *bi*;

1) *Délégation*, Tome X, S. 81.
2) In Umschrift zuerst von F. PEISER bekannt gemacht in *Jurisprudentiae Babylonicae quae supersunt* (Berl. Diss.), Cöthen 1890, S. 33 ff.

Stammvokal *a*; 2. *d* bewahrt neben sich vor Suffixen den ursprünglichen Stammvokal *a*, wenn der benachbarte Konsonant keinen gegenteiligen Einfluß übt; 3. *n*, *r* und *l* bewahren nach sich in den Formen ohne Suffix den ursprünglichen Stammvokal *i*." Für die Nomina II. gem. speziell gilt: „1. *n* und wahrscheinlich auch *l* bewahren vor sich in den Formen ohne Suffix den ursprünglichen Stammvokal *i*; 2. die Palatalen bewahren vor sich in den Formen mit Suffix den Stammvokal *a*; 3. im Falle entgegengesetzter Einflüsse der benachbarten Konsonanten überwiegt stets der zweite, wenn er nicht *d* und der erste nicht laryngal ist" [doch zwei Ausnahmen]. In ähnlichem Sinn werden weiter die Feminina auf *-t* und verwandte Formen untersucht.) — 430—4 *S. Langdon, Excavations at Kish I 1924 (G. Furlani). *E. Meyer, Histoire de l'antiquité III 1926 (Ders.). *E. Pottier, L'art hittite, 1. fasc. 1926 (Ders.). *Th. Bauer, Die Ostkanaanäer 1926 (Ders.). 438—43 *Ch.-F. Jean, Le péché chez les Babyloniens et Assyriens 1925 (Ders.). *H. Fuchs, Die Anaphora des monophysitischen Patriarchen Jôḥannan I. 1926 (Ders.). 444—50 *Aly ben Abderrahman ben Hodeïl el Andalousy, La parure des cavaliers et l'enseigne des preux éd. et trad. p. L. Mercier 1922—4 (G. L. Della Vida). 451—66 Annunzi bibliografici.

G. B.

Sitzungen der Kunstwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft München 1927/28:

96 W. Spiegelberg, Über einen äg. Modellkopf aus d. Ptolemäerzeit (Kalkstein, Königskopf m. Liniennetz. Ferner 2 Bildhauermodelle). — 100 W. Spiegelberg, Über Skizzen u. Studien altäg. Maler (m. Abb. besonders Widderkopf auf Ostrakon aus Privatbesitz). — 102 W. Spiegelberg, Über das Relief einer Klagenden (die 2 Haarsträhnen rauft, m. Abb. Saitisch). — 105 Scherman, Über indische Metal-Lampen (aus dem Staate Chamba im Panjab u. aus Nepal m. Abb.).

L. Wr.

Sitzungsberichte der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philos.-Hist. Klasse 1928:

4 L. Wenger, Aus Novellenindex und Papyruswörterbuch. I. Bericht über den Stand der Arbeiten am Novellenindex. II. ΑΓΡΑΦΟΣ in den Rechtsquellen.
5 M. Grabmann, Mittelalterliche lateinische Aristotelesübersetzungen und Aristoteleskommentare in Handschriften spanischer Bibliotheken. E. P. B.

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4 E. Lohmeyer, Kyrios Jesus. Eine Untersuchung zu Phil. 2, 5—11.
5 M. v. Tsereteli, Die neuen ḫaldischen Inschriften König Sardurs von Ararṭu (um 750 v. Chr.). Ein Beitrag zur Entzifferung des Ḫaldischen. E. P. B.

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21/22 255—8 A. Erman, Zur ägyptischen Wortforschung IV. — 259—84 K. Sethe, Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne.
23 296—319 M. Meyerhof, Über das Leidener arabische Fragment von Galens Schrift „Über die medizinischen Namen".
24 381—6 F. W. K. Müller, Ein uigurisch-lamaistisches Zauberritual aus den Turfanfunden.
28 495—532 E. Meyer, Götterstaat, Militärherrschaft und Ständewesen in Ägypten (Zur Geschichte der 21. u. 22. Dynastie). — 533—48 M. Meyerhof, Über echte und unechte Schriften Galens, nach arabischen Quellen.
29/33 565—74 St. Konow, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Buddhabildes. — 576—603 U. Wilcken, Alexanders Zug in die Oase Siwa. — 604—22 W. Spiegelberg, Drei demotische Schreiben aus der Korrespondenz des Pherendates, des Satrapen Darius' I., mit den Chnum-Priestern von Elephantine. — 656—70 H. Jacobi, Zur Frühgeschichte der indischen Poetik. — 671—6 A. H. Francke, Königsnamen von Khotan (a-ma-ça) auf tibetischen Dokumenten der Turkistansammlungen von London und Berlin.

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2 H. Lietzmann, Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel.
8/11 204—6 Ed. Meyer, Einzelne Fragen der phönikischen Geschichte. E. P. B.

Studi in Onore di P. Bonfante 3 1929:

71—80 Giuseppe Furlani, Alcuni Considerazioni sull' Adozione nelle Leggi di Hammurabi (über Cod. Ham. § 185—193 angeregt durch David, Die Adoption im altbab. Recht. Die Ratio der Anordnung ist die, daß das Komplizierte auf das Einfache folgt. § 185 und § 186 gehören zusammen; aus der Gegenüberstellung folgt, daß *a-ba-šu ù um-ma-šu i-ḫi-a-at* in § 186 einen den Zieheltern zustehenden Ersatz für die Kosten des Aufziehens bedeutet; das Kind, das in das Haus seiner leiblichen Eltern zurückkehrt, wird den Zieheltern einmal nichts einbringen, die aufgewendeten Ausgaben müssen daher ersetzt werden. Ein ähnliches Paar sind § 188 und § 189; hier kann das Kind, das von seinem Ziehvater ein Handwerk gelernt hat, nicht ohne weiteres in sein Vaterhaus zurückkehren. § 190 erklärt sich so, daß der Ziehvater, wenn er „das Ziehkind nicht zu seinen Kindern rechnet", sich der Rechte, die ihm das Aufziehen gibt, selbst begibt. § 187 und § 192f. handeln nicht von Adoptivkindern des Eunuchen und der *zikrum*, sondern von deren leiblichen Kindern. Weil diese Personen kein Erbteil erhielten, also für ihre Kinder nach dem Tode nicht sorgen konnten, mußte das Gesetz die Rückkehr solcher Kinder ins Haus von Vater und Mutter verhindern. In § 192 hat der Zusatz *mu-ra-bi-šu* bzw. *mu-ra-bi-ti-šu* zu *abim* bzw. *ummim* nur dann einen Sinn, wenn dadurch eine andere Person als die eingangs des Paragraphen genannten *girsekûm* bzw. *zikrum* ist). A. Götze.

Sudan Notes and Records 11 1928:

1—53 E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Oracle-Magic of the Azande (mit 4 Tafeln. Behandelt 4 bei den Zande gebräuchliche Orakelarten). — 55—67 E. Lampen, A Short Account of Meidob. — 69—82 W. W. Bowen, The Game-Birds and Water-Fowl of the Sudan (mit 1 Tafel und 1 Karte). — 83—101 G. O. Whitehead, Some Authors of the Southern Sudan (Mrs. Petherick, Baker, Schweinfurth, Junker, Emin Pasha). — 103—94 D. Newbold and W. B. K. Shaw, An Exploration in the South Libyan Desert (mit 12 Tafeln und 2 Karten. Eine von den beiden Autoren im Winter 1927 unternommene Expedition von El Obeid über die Oasen Bir Natrun, Nukheila und Selima nach Wadi Halfa). — 195—208 C. A. Willis, The Cult of Deng (bezeichnet einerseits die Religion der Dinka, die Verehrung Dengs, des „Sohnes Gottes", andrerseits verschiedene magische Praktiken). — 209—12 W. Ruttledge, Notes on Some Falcons in the Sudan (mit 1 Tafel). — 213—5 The Nahās of the Kababish as told by Sheikh Ibrahim Faheil (mit 1 Tafel). — 217—26 B. Struck, A Bibliography of the Languages of the Southern Sudan. — 227—9 Notes: Religious Practices in Rejaf District (mit 3 Tafeln) and The Name Mongalla. — *A. Hodson, Seven Years in Southern Abyssinia (A. D. Home). — *L'Islam et la Politique contemporaine (J. A. de C. H.).

A. Klingenheben.

Koschaker, Rechtsvergl. Studien 1917.

Cuq, Études.

Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. 41 (1918)

San Nicolo Klauseln

David Adoption.

Kol. XXIIIr 96 lies *ṭar* statt *ak*;
XXIVr 83 lies *šú* statt *na*;
XXVr 39 lies *da* statt des nicht ganz sicheren *id*;
XXVr 52 lies wohl *šú* statt *e*;
XXVIr 19 ergänze *a-na* am Anfang;
XXVIr 36 lies *tim* statt *šum*;
XXVIIr 24 lies guniertes *DU* statt *DU*;
XXVIIr 58 lies wohl *šum* statt *šú*;
XXVIIr 93 lies *AK* mit eingefügtem *ME* statt *AK*;
XXVIIIr 1 ist ganz zu tilgen;
XXVIIIr 2 wie XXVIIr 93;
XXVIIIr 17 lies *r*[*i*], wenn das Original tatsächlich *a*[*r*] haben sollte;
XXVIIIr 59 lies *ZU* statt *SU*;
XXVIIIr 69 lies *id* statt *da*.

2. Die altbabylonischen Fragmente

zeigen keine Irrtümer, wenn nicht etwa in Frgm. III, Kol. II 7, wie in der Stele (Vr 19), *šú* zu tilgen ist.

3. Die assyrischen Fragmente.

a. K 4223.

Kol. Ir 25 lies *šar-ri-im* statt *šar-ri-'*;
Ir 27 lies *KU.MAL* statt *KU.UŠ*;
IIr 4 lies *ma* statt *šú*;
IIr 9, letztes Zeichen, lies *ma* statt *at*;
IIr 16 tilge *am*.

d. K 10485.

Kol. IIIr 7 lies *i-li-ki* statt *i-li-ik*.

e. K 11571.

Kol. I 9 lies *al* statt *il*;
IIIr 5 lies statt [ilu]*RA* wohl [ilu]*šêd* (BRÜNNOW Nr. 6233).

f. Sm. 26.

Kol. IIIr 3 lies *pi-ḫa-zu* statt *ši-ḫa-zu*;
IVr 12 lies *e-gi-ma* statt *e-gi-šú*.

k. Rm. 277.

Kol. I 18 lies 𒌋 statt 𒁹;
I 22 lies *SAR* statt *KA*;
IIIr 16 lies *a-na* statt *A.ŠÀ*;
IVr 3 lies *ri-im* statt *ri-am*.

l. DT 81.

Kol. IIr 7 lies *pa-šá-ri-im* statt *pa-šá-ri-am*.

m. Bu. 91—5—9, 221.

Kol. II 1. 2 lies *eš-te-i-ši-na-ši-im* statt *e-eš-te i-ši-i-na-ši-in-im*;
II 12 lies *li* statt *tu*;
Ir 4 lies wohl *li-it-t*[*a* statt *li-iš-t*[*a*;
Ir 9 lies *a-na* statt *a-di*;
Ir 21 lies *šá* statt *iš*;
IIr 5]*ir-a-ta-an* ist irgendwie für *da-ni-a-tim* verschrieben.

n. K̦ 8321.

Kol. II 5 lies wohl *A.ŠÀ* statt *a-kil*.

4. Die neubabylonischen Fragmente.

a. VAT 991.

Kol. II 7 lies *šú* statt *ma*.

b. VAT 1036.

Kol. I 5 lies *ta* statt *ka*;
I 6 füge *ka* hinter *ar* ein.

1. Der Text der Stele (I 1 bis II 36).

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1. Der Text der Stele (II 37 bis IV 3).

1. Der Text der Stele (IV 4 bis V 40).

1. Der Text der Stele (V 41 bis VII 6).

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VI
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VII
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1. Der Text der Stele (VII 7 bis VIII 43).

1. Der Text der Stele (VIII 44 bis X 10).

1. Der Text der Stele (XI 39 bis XIII 4).

40 45 50 55 60 65 70 XII 5

10 15 20 25 30 35

40 45 50 55 60 65 XIII

1. Der Text der Stele (XIII 5 bis XIV 32).

1. Der Text der Stele (XIV 33 bis XV 74).

XIV 35, 40, 45, 50, 55, 60, 65

§52 XV, 5, §53, 10, 15, 20, §54, 25, 30, §55, 35

§56, 40, §57 45, 50, 55, 60, §58 65, 70

75

XVI

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§62

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Lücke von 7 Kolumnen.

I r

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1. Der Text der Stele (I r 27 bis II r 55).

the shepherd of the people, whose deeds are pleasing to
Ishtar;
who installed Ishtar in Eulmash in the midst
of Akkad,[33] square; (50)

[33] An ancient city of northern Babylonia, founded by Sargon the Great as his capital; a seat of Ishtar, with her temple Eulmash.

who makes law prevail; who guides the people aright;
who returned to Ashur[34] its kindly protecting genius;

[34] The name of Assyria, of its ancient capital, modern Qal'at Shergat, on the upper Tigris, and of its national god. It is manifestly the city that is intended here.

who overpowered the *agitators*;
the king, who made the name of Inanna glorious
in Nineveh[35] in Emishmish; (60)

[35] The later capital of Assyria on the upper Tigris, modern Kouyunjik, an important seat of Inanna, with her temple Emishmish.

the devout one, who prays fervently to the great gods;
the descendant of Sumu-la-el;[36]

[36] The second king of the Old Babylonian Dynasty.

the powerful son and heir[37] of Sin-muballit, (70)

[37] "Son and heir," a single word in Babylonian.

(v)

the ancient seed of royalty, the powerful king, the sun
of Babylon,
who causes light to go forth over the lands of Sumer and
Akkad;[38]

[38] Sumer was the ancient name of southern Babylonia and Akkad of northern Babylonia, the two together constituting a common name of the country as a whole.

the king who has made the four quarters of the
world subservient; (10)
the favorite of Inanna am I.
Now that Marduk had sent me to guide the people
aright,
to direct the land,
I established law and justice in the language
of the land, (20)
in order that I might promote the welfare of the people.
At that time (I decreed):

The Laws

1: If a seignior[39] accused a(nother) seignior and

[39] The word *awēlum*, used here, is literally "man," but in the legal literature it seems to be used in at least three senses: (1) sometimes to indicate a man of the higher class, a noble; (2) sometimes a free man of any class, high or low; and (3) occasionally a man of any class, from king to slave (see, e.g. *CH*, reverse xxvi, 39-44). For the last I use the inclusive word "man," but for the first two, since it is seldom clear which of the two is intended in a given context, I follow the ambiguity of the original and use the rather general term "seignior," which I employ as the term is employed in Italian and Spanish, to indicate any free man of standing, and not in the strict feudal sense, although the ancient Near East did have something approximating the feudal system, and that is another reason for using "seignior."

brought a charge of murder against him, but has not proved it, his accuser shall be put to death.[40]

[40] With this law and the three following cf. Deut. 5:20; 19:16 ff.; Exod. 23:1-3.

2: If a seignior brought a charge of sorcery against a(nother) seignior, but has not proved it, the one against whom the charge of sorcery was brought, upon going to the river,[41] shall throw himself into the river,

[41] The word for "river" throughout this section has the determinative of deity, indicating that the river (the Euphrates) as judge in the case was regarded as god.

and if the river has then overpowered him, his accuser shall take over his estate; if the river has shown that seignior to be innocent and he has accordingly come forth safe, the one who brought the charge of sorcery against him shall be put to death, while the one who threw himself into the river shall take over the estate of his accuser.

3: If a seignior came forward with false testimony in a case, and has not proved the word which he spoke, if that case was a case involving life, that seignior shall be put to death.

4: If he came forward with (false) testimony concerning grain or money, he shall bear the penalty of that case.

5: If a judge gave a judgment, rendered a decision, deposited a sealed document, but later has altered his judgment, they shall prove that that judge altered the judgment which he gave and he shall pay twelvefold the claim which holds in that case; furthermore, they shall expel him in the assembly from his seat of judgment and he shall never again sit[42] with the judges in a

[42] Lit., "he shall not return and sit."

case.

6: If a seignior stole the property of church or state,[43]

[43] Lit., "the property of god or palace."

that seignior shall be put to death; also the one who received the stolen goods from his hand shall be put to death.

7: If a seignior has purchased or he received for safekeeping either silver or gold or a male slave or a female slave or an ox or a sheep or an ass or any sort of thing from the hand of a seignior's son or a seignior's slave without witnesses and contracts, since that seignior is a thief, he shall be put to death.

8: If a seignior stole either an ox or a sheep or an ass or a pig or a boat, if it belonged to the church (or) if it belonged to the state, he shall make thirtyfold restitution; if it belonged to a private citizen,[44] he shall make

[44] The word is *muškēnum*, which in the Code ordinarily indicates a man of the middle class, a commoner, but here and in §§15, 16, 175, and 176 it manifestly refers to a private citizen as distinct from the church and state.

good tenfold. If the thief does not have sufficient to make restitution, he shall be put to death.[45]

[45] The laws on theft in the Code (§§6-13, 22, 23, 25, 259, 260, 265) do not agree themselves, indicating that we have laws of different dates in the Code. According to the earliest laws (§§7, 9, 10, 22, 25) theft was to be punished by death; later (§6) the death penalty was confined to the theft of church or state property; later still severalfold restitution (§§8, 265) or a fine (§§259, 260) came to be substituted for the death penalty; see T. J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins* (1936), pp. 61 f. For the Hebrew laws on theft see Exod. 20:15 (=Deut. 5:19) 22:1-4; Lev. 19:11, 13.

9: When a seignior, (some of) whose property was lost, has found his lost property in the possession of a(nother) seignior, if the seignior in whose possession the lost (property) was found has declared, "A seller sold (it) to me; I made the purchase in the presence of witnesses," and the owner of the lost (property) in turn has declared, "I will produce witnesses attesting to my lost (property)"; the purchaser having then produced the seller who made the sale to him and the witnesses in whose presence he made the purchase, and the owner of the lost (property) having also produced the witnesses attesting to his lost (property), the judges shall consider their evidence, and the witnesses in whose presence the purchase was made, along with the witnesses attesting to the lost (property), shall declare what they know in the presence of god, and since the seller was the thief, he shall be put to death, while the owner of the lost (property) shall take his lost (property), with the purchaser obtaining from the estate of the seller the money that he paid out.[46]

[46] Lit., "he weighed out." In the time of Hammurabi coinage had of course not yet been invented and the money (usually silver, as here) was weighed out in bars.

10: If the (professed) purchaser has not produced the seller who made the sale to him and the witnesses in whose presence he made the purchase, but the owner of the lost property has produced witnesses attesting to his lost property, since the (professed) purchaser was the thief, he shall be put to death, while the owner of the lost property shall take his lost property.

11: If the (professed) owner of the lost property has not produced witnesses attesting to his lost property, since he was a cheat and started a false report, he shall be put to death.

12: If the seller has gone to (his) fate, the purchaser shall take from the estate of the seller fivefold the claim for that case.

13: If the witnesses of that seignior were not at hand, the judg shall set a time-limit of six months for him, and if he did not produce his witnesses within six months, since that seignior wsa a cheat, he shall bear the penalty of that case.

14: If a seignior has stolen the young son of a(nother) seignior, he shall be put to death.[47]

[47] cf. Exod. 21:16; Deut. 24:7.

15: If a seignior has helped either a male slave of the state or a female slave of the state or a male slave of a private citizen or a female slave of a private citizen to escape through the city-gate, he shall be put to death.

16: If a seignior has harbored in his house either a fugitive male or female slave belonging to the state or to a private citizen and has not brought him fourth at the summons of the police, that householder shall be put to death.

17: If a seignior caught a fugitive male or female slave in the open and has taken him to his owner, the owner of the slave shall pay him two shekels[48] of silver.

[48] A weight of about 8 gr.

18: If that slavee will not name his owner, he shall take him to the palace in order that his record may be investigated, and they shall return him to his owner.

19: If he has kept that slave in his house (and) later the slave has been found in his possession, that seignior shall be put to death.

20: If the slave has escaped from the hand of his captor, that seignior shall (so) affirm by god to the owner of the slave and he shall then go free.

21: If a seignior made a breach in a house, they shall put him to death in front of that breach and thrust him in.[49]

[49] cf. Exod. 22:2, 3a.

22: If a seignior committed robbery and has been caught, that seignior shall be put to death.

23: If the robber has not been caught, the robbed seignior shall set forth the particulars regarding his lost property in the presence of god, and the city and governor, in whose territory and district the robbery was committed, shall make good to him his lost property.

24: If it was a life (that was lost), the city and governor shall pay one mina[50] of silver to his people.[51]

[50] A weight of about 500 gr., divided into 60 shekels.

[51] With §§23 and 24 cf. Deut. 21:1 ff.

25: If fire broke out in a seignior's house and a seignior, who went to extinguish (it), cast his eye on the goods of the owner of the house and has appropriated the goods of the owner of the house, that seignior shall be thrown into that fire.

26: If either a private soldier or a commissary,[52] whose despatch on a campaign of the king was ordered, did not go or he hired a substitute[53] and has sent (him) in his place, that soldier or commissary shall be put to death, while the one who was hired by him shall take over his estate.

[52] The exact meaning of the two military terms used here, *rēdûm* and *bā'irum*, is uncertain. The former means literally "follower" and is regularly used for the ordinary foot-soldier; the latter means literally "fisher, hunter," hence "commissary" here.

[53] Lit., "hireling."

27: In the case of either a private soldier or a commissary who was carried off while in the armed service of the king, if after his (disappearance) they gave his field and orchard to another and he has looked after his feudal obligations—if he has returned and reached his city, they shall restore his field and orchard to him and he shall himself look after his feudal obligations.

28: In the case of either a private soldier or a commissary, who was carried off while in the armed service of the king, if his son is able to look after the feudal obligations, the field and orchard shall be given to him and he shall look after the feudal obligations of his father.

29: If his son is so young that he is not able to look after the feudal obligations of his father, one-third of the field and orchard shall be given to his mother in order that his mother may rear him.

30: If either a private soldier or a commissary gave up his field, orchard and house on account of the feudal obligations and has then absented himself, (and) after his (departure) another took over his field, orchard and house and has looked after the feudal obligations for three years—if he has returned and demands his field, orchard and house, they shall not be given to him; the one who has taken over and looked after his feudal obligations shall himself become the feudatory.

31: If he has absented himself for only one year and has returned, his field, orchard and house shall be given back to him and he shall look after his feudal obligations himself.

32: If a merchant has ransomed either a private soldier or a commissary, who was carried off in a campaign of the king, and has enabled him to reach his city, if there is sufficient to ransom (him) in his house, he himself shall ransom himself; if there is not sufficient to ransom him in his house, he shall be ransomed from the estate of his city-god; if there is not sufficient to ransom him in the estate of his city-god, the state shall ransom him, since his own field, orchard and house may not be ceded for his ransom.

33: If either a sergeant or a captain[54] has harbored a soldier (guilty) of desertion or he accepted and has sent a hired substitute for a campaign of the king, that sergeant or captain shall be put to death.

[54] The exact meaning of these two military terms, *dēkûm* and *luputtûm*, is not known; they refer to officers of some sort.

34: If either a sergenat or a captain has appropriated the household goods of a soldier, has wronged a soldier, has let a soldier for hire, has abandoned a soldier to a superior in a lawsuit, has appropriated the grant which the king gave to a soldier, that sergeant or captain shall be put to death.

35: If a seignior has brought from the hand of a soldier the cattle or sheep which the king gave to the soldier, he shall forfeit his money.[55]

[55] Lit., "he shall go up from his silver," with the separative use of the *t*-form of the verb.

36: In no case is the field, orchard, or house belonging to a soldier, a commissary, or a feudatory[56] salable.[57]

[56] Lit., "bearer of dues."

[57] Lit., "does not sell for silver"; the active *inaddin* would seem to be a scribal error for the passive *innaddin*, "to be sold."

37: If a seignior has purchased the field, orchard, or house belonging to a soldier, a commissary, or a feudatory, his contract-tablet shall be broken and he shall also forfeit his money, with the field, orchard, or house reverting to its owner.

38: In no case may a soldier, a commissary, or a feudatory deed any of his field, orchard, or house belonging to his fief to his wife or daughter, and in no case may he assign (them) for an obligation of his.

39: He may deed to his wife or daughter any of the field, orchard, or house which he purchases and accordingly owns,[58] and he may assign (them) for an obliga-

[58] i.e. in free simple and not as a fief.

tion of his.

40: A hierodule,[59] a merchant, and a feudatory extra-

[59] The exact meaning of the term used here, *naditum*, is unknown, but it indicates some kind of religious functionary.

ordinary may sell his field, orchard and house, with the purchaser assuming the feudal obligations of the field, orchard and house which he purchases.

41: If a seignior acquired by barter the field, orchard, or house belonging to a soldier, a commissary, or a feudatory, and also made an additional payment, the soldier, commissary, or feudatory shall repossess his field, orchard, or house, and he shall also keep the additional payment that was made to him.

42: If a seignior rented a field for cultivation, but has not produced grain in the field, they shall prove that he did no work on the field and he shall give grain to the owner of the field on the basis of those adjoining it.

43: If he did not cultivate the field, but has neglected (it), he shall give grain to the owner of the field on the basis of those adjoining it; furthermore, the field which he neglected he shall break up with mattocks, harrow and return to the owner of the field.

44: If a seignior rented a fallow field for three years for development, but became so lazy that he has not developed the field, in the fourth year he shall break up the field with mattocks, plow and harrow (it), and he shall return (it) to the owner of the field; furthermore, he shall measure out ten *kur*[60] of grain per

[60] A measure equal to a little more than 7 bushels, divided into 300 *qu*.

eighteen *iku*.[61]

[61] A land measure equal to about ⅞ of an acre.

45: If a seignior let his field to a tenant[62] and has

[62] Lit., "gave his field for rent to a cultivator."

already received the rent of his field, (and) later Adad has inundated the field or a flood has ravaged (it), the loss shall be the tenant's.

46: If he has not received the rent of the field, whether he let the field for one-half or one-third (the crop), the tenant and the owner of the field shall divide proportionately the grain which is produced in the field.

47: If the tenant has asked (another) to cultivate the field because he did not get back his investment in the previous year, the owner of the field shall not object; his ⟨new⟩ tenant[63] shall cultivate[64] his field and at

[63] The word has the emphatic *ma*-ending to indicate that the reference is not to the first tenant but the second, the sub-tenant.

[64] The original here, *i-ni-ri-il-ma*, is clearly a scribal error for *i-ir-ri-il-ma* and not the IV 1 form, which would of course be *in-ne-ri-il-ma*.

harvest-time he shall take grain in accordance with his contracts.

48: If a debt is outstanding against a seignior and Adad has inundated his field or a flood has ravaged (it) or through lack of water grain has not been produced in the field, he shall not make any return of grain to his creditor[65] in that year; he shall cancel[66] his

[65] Reading *be-el ḫu-bu-ul-li-šu*, lit., "the owner of his debt."

[66] Lit., "he shall wash off."

contract-tablet and he shall pay no interest for that year.

49: When a seignior borrowed money from a merchant and pledged to the marchant a field prepared for grain or sesame, if he said to him, "Cultivate the field, then harvest (and) take the grain or sesame that is produced," if the tenant has produced grain or sesame in the field, the owner of the field at harvest-time shall himself take the grain or sesame that was produced in the field and he shall give to the merchant grain for his money, which he borrowed from the merchant, together with its interest, and also for the cost of cultivation.

50: If he pledged a field planted with ⟨grain⟩ or a field planted with sesame, the owner of the field shall himself take the grain or sesame that was produced in the field and he shall pay back the money with its interest to the merchant.

51: If he does not have the money to pay back, ⟨grain or⟩ sesame at their market value in accordance with the ratio fixed by the king[67] he shall give to the merchant

[67] In ancient Mesopotamia the ratio between silver (the money of the time) and various commodities was fixed by the state, showing that price control is not such a modern institution after all.

for his money, which he borrowed from the merchant, together with its interest.

52: If the tenant has not produced grain or sesame in the field, he may not change his contract.

53: If a seignior was too lazy to make [the dike of] his field strong and did not make his dike strong and a break has opened up in his dike and he has accordingly let the water ravage the farmland, the seignior in whose dike the break was opened shall make good the grain that he let get destroyed.

54: If he is not able to make good the grain, they shall sell him and his goods, and the farmers whose grain the water carried off shall divide (the proceeds).

55: If a seignior, upon opening his canal for irrigation became so lazy that he has let the water ravage a field adjoining his, he shall measure out grain on the basis of

those adjoining his.

56: If a seignior opened up the water and then has left the water carry off his work done on a field adjoining his, he shall measure out ten *kur* of grain per eighteen *iku*.

57: If a shepherd has not come to an agreement with the owner of a field to pasture sheep on the grass, but has pastured sheep on the field without the consent of the owner of the field, when the owner of the field harvests his field, the shepherd who pastured the sheep on the field without the consent of the owner of the field give in addition twenty *kur* of grain per eighteen *iku* to the owner of the field.

58: If after the sheep have gone up from the meadow, when the whole flock[68] has been shut up within the city-

[68] Lit., "the flock of the totality." The word *kannû* is plural construct here and manifestly means "flock."

gate,[69] the shepherd drove the sheep into a field and has

[69] The reference to the city-gate evidently reflects the Near Eastern custom in both ancient and modern times of bringing the sheep into the shelter of the town or village at night.

then pastured the sheep on the field, the shepherd shall look after the field on which he pastured and at harvest-time he shall measure out sixty *kur* of grain per eighteen *iku* to the owner of the field.

59: If a seignior cut down a tree in a(nother) seignior's orchard without the consent of the owner of the orchard, he shall pay one-half mina of silver.

60: If, when a seignior gave a field to a gardener to set out an orchard, the gardener set out the orchard, he shall develop the orchard for four years; in the fifth year the owner of the orchard and the gardener shall divide equally, with the owner of the orchard receiving his preferential share.[70]

[70] A circumstantial clause, grammatically co-ordinate but logically subordinate, reading literally "the owner of the orchard shall choose and take his share." With this law cf. Lev. 19:23-25.

61: If the gardener did not set out the whole field,[71]

[71] Lit., "did not complete the field in setting (it) out."

but left a portion bare, they shall assign the bare portion to him as his share.

62: If he did not set out the field that was given to him as an orchard, if it was a cultivated field, the gardener shall pay[72] to the owner of the field rent for the

[72] Lit., "measure out," indicating that the rent was to be paid in grain.

field for the years that it was neglected on the basis of those adjoining it; also he shall do the (necessary) work on the field and return (it) to the owner of the field.

63: If it was fallow land, he shall do the (necessary) work on the field and return (it) to the owner of the field; also he shall measure out ten *kur* of grain per eighteen *iku* for each year.

64: If a seignior gave his orchard to a gardener to pollinate,[73] the gardener shall give to the owner of the

[73] The orchard was a date orchard (see §66) and hence had to be artificially fertilized.

orchard two-thirds of the produce of the orchard as rent of the orchard as long as the orchard is held, with himself taking one-third.

65: If the gardener did not pollinate the orchard and so has let the yield decline, the gardener [shall measure out] rent for the orchard on the basis of those adjoining it.

66: When a seignior borrowed money from a merchant and his merchant foreclosed on him and he has nothing to pay (it) back, if he gave his orchard after pollination to the merchant and said to him, "Take for your money as many dates as there are produced in the orchard," that merchant shall not be allowed; the owner of the orchard shall himself take the dates that were produced in the orchard and repay the merchant for the money and its interest in accordance with the wording of his tablet and the owner of the orchard shall in turn take the remaining dates that were produced in the orchard.

67: If a seignior built a house, his neighbor. . . .

68: f.: (not preserved)

70: . . . he shall give to him.

71: If he is giving grain, money, or goods for a fief estate belonging to an estate adjoining his, which he wishes to purchase, he shall forfeit whatever he paid, while the estate shall revert to its [owner]. If that estate does not carry feudal obligations, he may purchase (it), since he may give grain, money, or goods for such an estate.

72-77: (Only a few words preserved, having to do with house building.)

78: [If a seignior let a house to a(nother) seignior and] the seignior (who was) the tenant paid his rental money in full for the year to the owner of [the house] and the owner of the house has then said to the [tenant] while his term[74] was (still) incomplete, "Move out,"

[74] Lit., "his days."

the owner of the house [shall forfeit] the money which the tenant paid to him [because] he made the tenant [move out] of his house while his term was (still) incomplete.

79-87: (not preserved)

88: If a merchant [lent] grain[75] at interest, he shall

[75] Through a scribal error the original has "silver."

receive sixty *qu* of grain per *kur* as interest.[76] If he lent

[76] Since there were 300 *qu* in a *kur*, the interest rate was 20%.

money at interest, he shall receive one-sixth (shekel) six *še* (i.e. one-fifth shekel) per shekel of silver as interest.[77]

[77] Since there were 180 *še* in a shekel, interest rate was again 20%.

89: If a seignior, who [incurred] a debt, does not have the money to pay (it) back, but has the grain, [the merchant] shall take grain for his money [with its interest] in accordance with the ratio fixed by the king.

90: If the merchant increased the interest beyond [sixty *qu*] per *kur* [of grain] (or) one-sixth (shekel) six *še* [per shekel of money] and has collected (it), he shall forfeit whatever he lent.

91: If a merchant [lent] grain at interest and has collected money [for the full interest] on the grain, the grain along with the money may not [*be charged to the account*].[78]

[78] i.e. a traveling salesman peddling his wares wherever he could find a buyer.

92: (not preserved)

93: [If the merchant] . . . or he has not had the full amount of grain [which he received] deducted and did not write a new contract, or he has added the interest

to the principal, that merchant shall pay back double the full amount of grain that he received.

94: If a merchant lent grain or money at interest and when he lent (it) at interest he paid out the money by the small weight and grain by the small measure, but when he got (it) back he got the money by the [large] weight (and) the grain by the large measure, [that merchant shall forfeit] whatever he lent.

95: If a [merchant lent grain or money] at interest and gave . . . , he shall forfeit whatever he lent.

96: If a seignior borrowed grain or money from a merchant and does not have the grain or money to pay (it) back, but has (other) goods, he shall give to his merchant whatever there is in his possession, (affirming) before witnesses that he will bring (it), while the merchant shall accept (it) without making any objections.

97: . . . , he shall be put to death.

98: If a seignior gave money to a(nother) seignior for a partnership, they shall divide equally in the presence of god the profit or loss which was incurred.

99: If a merchant lent money at interest to a trader[78] for the purpose of trading [and making purchases] and sent him out on the road, the trader shall . . . on the road [the money which was entrusted] to him.

100: If he has realized a profit where he went, he shall write down the interest on the full amount of money that he borrowed and they shall count up the days against him and he shall repay his merchant.

101: If he has not realized a profit where he went, the trader shall repay to the merchant double[79] the money that he borrowed.

[79] Lit., "shall double and give to the merchant."

102: If a merchant has lent money to a trader as a favor[80] and he has experienced a loss where he went, he shall pay back the principal of the money to the merchant.

[80] i.e. without interest.

103: If, when he went on the road, an enemy has made him give up whatever he was carrying, the trader shall (so) affirm by god and then he shall go free.

104: If a merchant lent grain, wool, oil, or any goods at all to a trader to retail, the trader shall write down the value and pay (it) back to the merchant, with the trader obtaining a sealed receipt for the money he pays to the merchant.

105: If the trader has been careless and so has not obtained a sealed receipt for the money which he paid to the merchant, the money with no sealed receipt may not be credited to the account.

106: If a trader borrowed money from a merchant and has then disputed (the fact) with his merchant. that merchant in the presence of god and witnesses shall prove that the trader borowed the money and the trader shall pay to the merchant threefold the full amount of money that he borrowed.

107: When a merchant entrusted (something) to a trader and the trader has returned to his merchant whatever the merchant gave him, if the merchant has then disputed with him whatever the trader gave him, that trader shall prove it against the merchant in the presence of god and witnesses and the merchant shall pay to the trader sixfold whatever he received because he had a dispute with his trader.

108: If a woman wine seller, instead of receiving grain for the price of a drink, has received money by the large weight and so has made the value of the drink less than the value of the grain, they shall prove it against that wine seller[81] and throw her into the water.

[81] A variant, *UM* v, No. 93, col. iv, lines 37-8, reads "they shall bind that wine seller."

109: If outlaws have congregated in the establishment of a woman wine seller and she has not arrested those outlaws and did not take them to the palace, that wine seller shall be put to death.

110: If a hierodule, a nun,[82] who is not living in a convent, has opened (the door of) a wineshop or has entered a wineshop for a drink, they shall burn that woman.

[82] This word may be in apposition to the preceding or the particle "or" may be understood before it. The exact meaning of the word, *entum*, is not known, but the ideogram means literally "lady of a god," hence my translation "nun."

111: If a woman wine seller gave one (flask) of *piḫum*-drink[83] on credit,[84] she shall receive fifty *qu*[85] of grain at harvest-time.

[83] The exact meaning of *piḫum* is not known.

[84] The original has *di-ip-tim*, but this is a scribal error for *qi-ip-tim*.

[85] A measure equal to a little more than ¾ of a quart, dry measure.

112: When a seignior was engaged in a (trading) journey and gave silver, gold, (precious) stones, or (other) goods in his possession[86] to a(nother) seignior and consigned (them) to him for trnasport, if that seignior did not deliver whatever was to be transported where it was to be transported, but has appropriated (it), the owner of the goods to be transported shall prove the charge against[87] that seignior in the matter of whatever was to be transported, but which he did not deliver, and that seignior shall pay to the owner of the goods to be transported fivefold whatever was given to him.

[86] Lit., "goods of his hand."

[87] The verb is impersonal plural, a scribal error for the singular.

113: If a seignior held (a debt of) grain or money against a(nother) seignior and he has then taken grain from the granary or threshing floor without the consent of the owner of the grain, they shall prove that that seignior took grain from the granary or threshing floor without the consent of the owner of the grain and he shall return the full amount of grain that he took and he shall also forfeit everything else that he lent.

114: If a seignior did not hold (a debt of) grain or money against a(nother) seignior, but has distrained (someone as) his pledge, he shall pay one-third mina of silver for each distraint.

115: If a seignior held (a debt of) grain or money against a(nother) seignior and distrained (someone as) his pledge and the pledge has then died a natural death[88] in the house of his distrainer, that case is not subject to claim.

[88] Lit., "in accordance with his fate."

116: If the pledge has died from beating or abuse in the house of his distrainer, the owner of the pledge shall prove it against his merchant, and if it was the seignior's son, they shall put his son to death; if it was the seignior's slave, he shall pay one-third mina of silver and also forfeit everything else that he lent.

117: If an obligation came due against a seignior[89] and he sold (the services of) his wife, his son, or his daughter, or he has been bound over[90] to service, they shall

[89] Lit., "If with respect to a seignior (*emphatic accusative of specification*) an obligation has seized him."

1. Der Text der Stele (II r 56 bis IV r 3).

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III r

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IV r

1. Der Text der Stele (IV r 4 bis V r 29).

1. Der Text der Stele (V r 30 bis VI r 49).

1. Der Text der Stele (VI r 50 bis VII r 60).

1. Der Text der Stele (VII r 61 bis IX r 3).

65 70 VIII r 5 10 15

20 25 30 35 40 45 50

55 60 65 70 75 80 IX r

1. Der Text der Stele (IX r 4 bis X r 18).

CH

Tontafelfragment aus Susa

Scheil RA 18. 148

ri

[...]-ni-i-im
ga uš-di-ik
šu-a-ti
na ka-ši-ši-im
ša-ak-ka-nu-ši
ma a-ṣi-lum
SAL-en il-
ma-ad
šu-a-ti
ze-ir-zu-šu
ṣi-lum
šu

a-ṣi
i-ka-zu-[...]
a-na me-
i-na-ad-du-
i-na-ad-du-šu
šum-ma a-ṣi-lum
É. GE. A
i-ḫi-ir-ma
mār-šu la il-ma-[...]
šu-ú i-na
šu-ni-ša
it-ta-ti-il
½ ma-na kaspam
i-ša-

§ 153-55

§ 155/6.

1. Der Text der Stele (X r 19 bis XI r 35).

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XI r

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1. Der Text der Stele (XI r 36 bis XII r 52).

1. Der Text der Stele (XII r 53 bis XIII r 68).

1. Der Text der Stele (XIII r 69 bis XIV r 82).

1. Der Text der Stele (XIV r 83 bis XVI r 2).

1. Der Text der Stele (XVI r 3 bis XVII r 12).

1. Der Text der Stele (XVII r 13 bis XVIII r 24).

1. Der Text der Stele (XVIII r 25 bis XIX r 36).

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§ 216

§ 217 70

§ 218

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§ 219

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§ 220

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§ 221 95

XIX r

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§ 222 10

§ 223

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§ 224

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§ 225

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§ 226

1. Der Text der Stele (XIX r 37 bis XX r 44).

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XX r
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1. Der Text der Stele (XX r 45 bis XXI r 59).

1. Der Text der Stele (XXII r 69 bis XXIII r 75).

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95

100

XXIII r

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§ 273

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§ 274 20

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§ 275 45

§ 276

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§ 277

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§ 278

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§ 279

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§ 280

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85
90
95
100
XXIV r
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65
70

1. Der Text der Stele (XXIV r 73 bis XXV r 88).

1. Der Text der Stele (XXV r 89 bis XXVI r 90).

90 95 100 105 XVI r 5 10 15

20 25 30 35 40 45 50

55 60 65 70 75 80 85 90

1. Der Text der Stele (XXVI r 91 bis XXVII r 97).

95
100
XXVII r
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15
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75
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85
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95

100

105

XXVIII r

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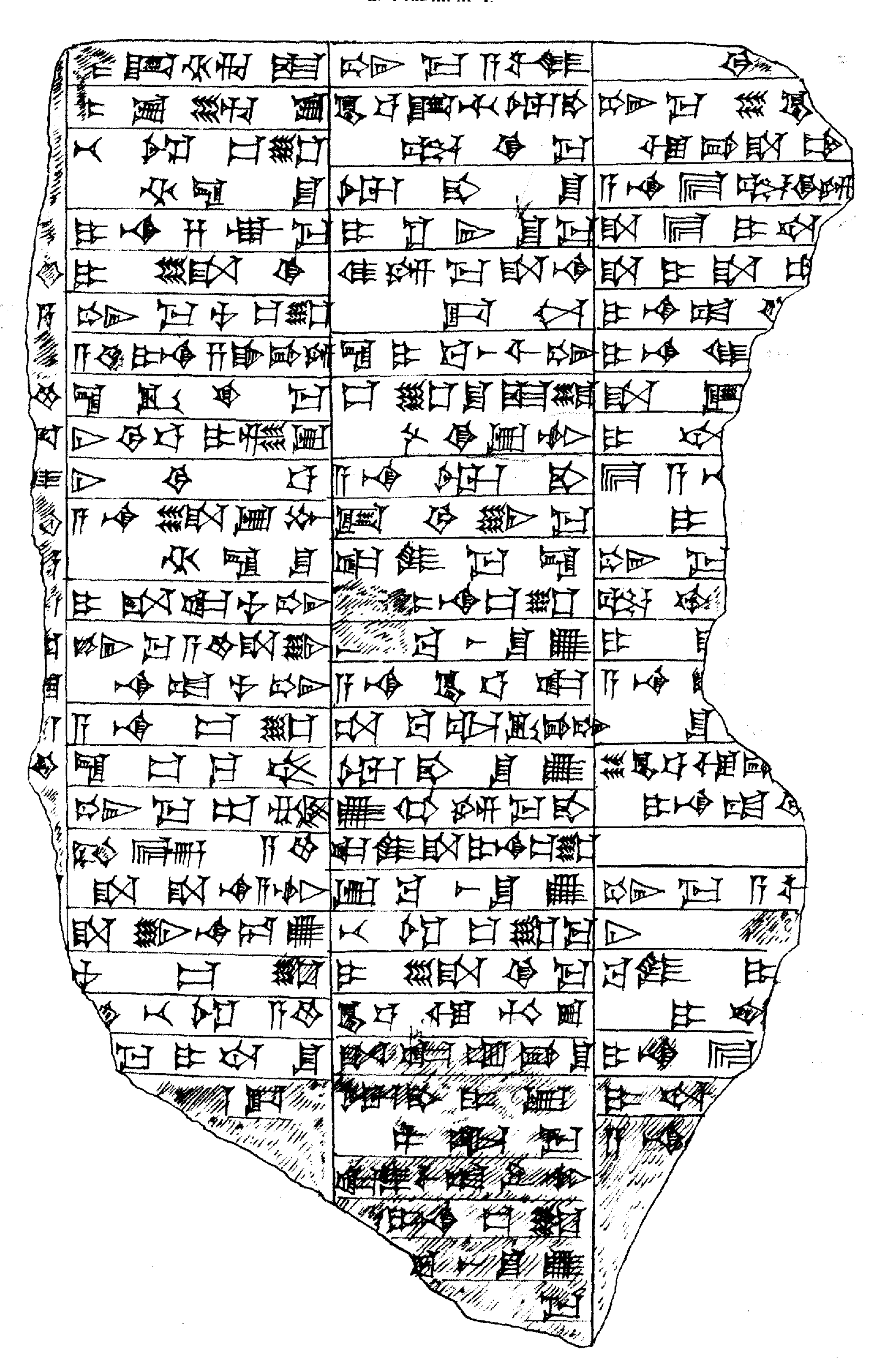
80

85

90

2. Altbabylonische Fragmente.

a. Fragment I.



b. Fragment II.

Vorderseite:

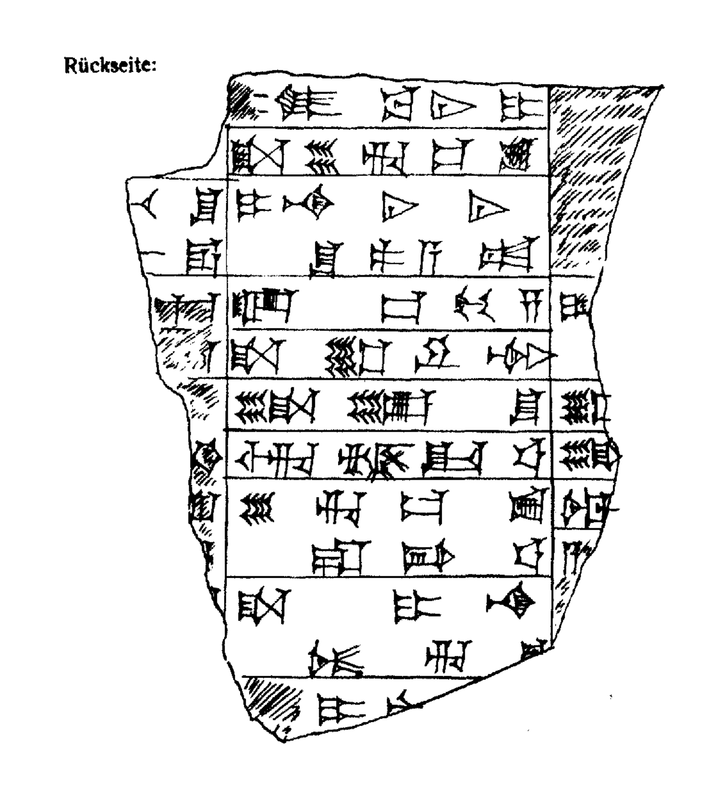


c. Fragment III.

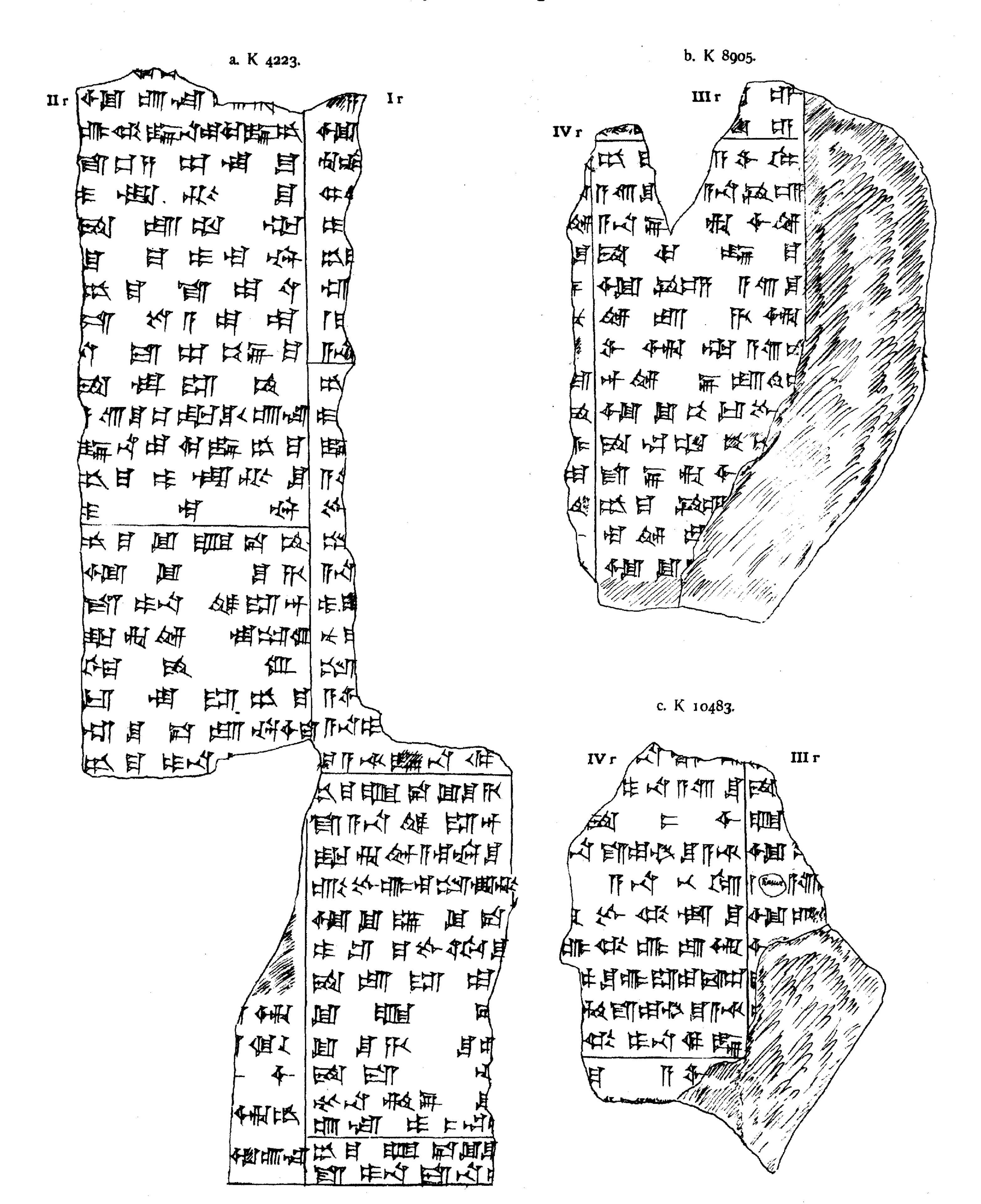
Rückseite:

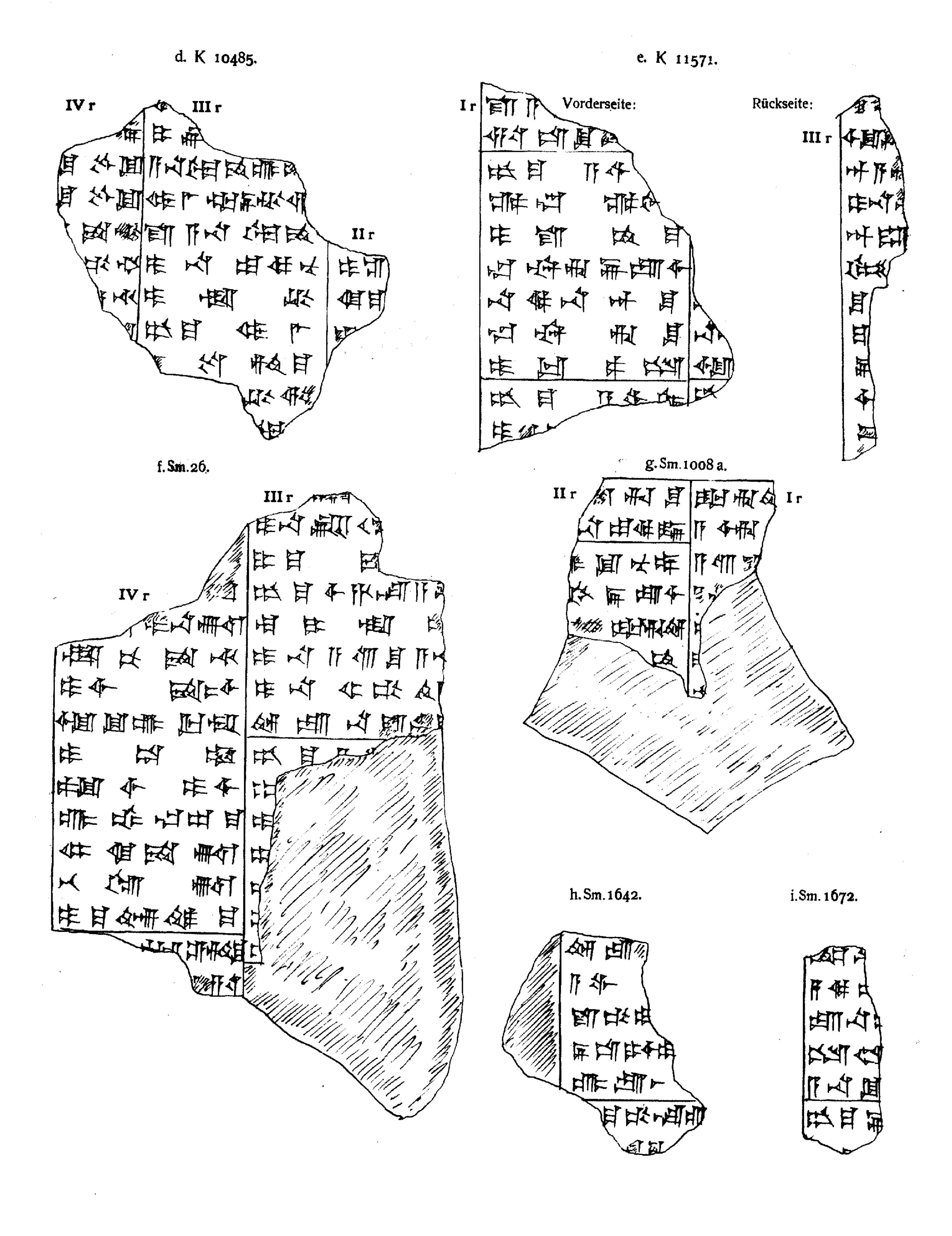
Rückseite:

Rückseite:



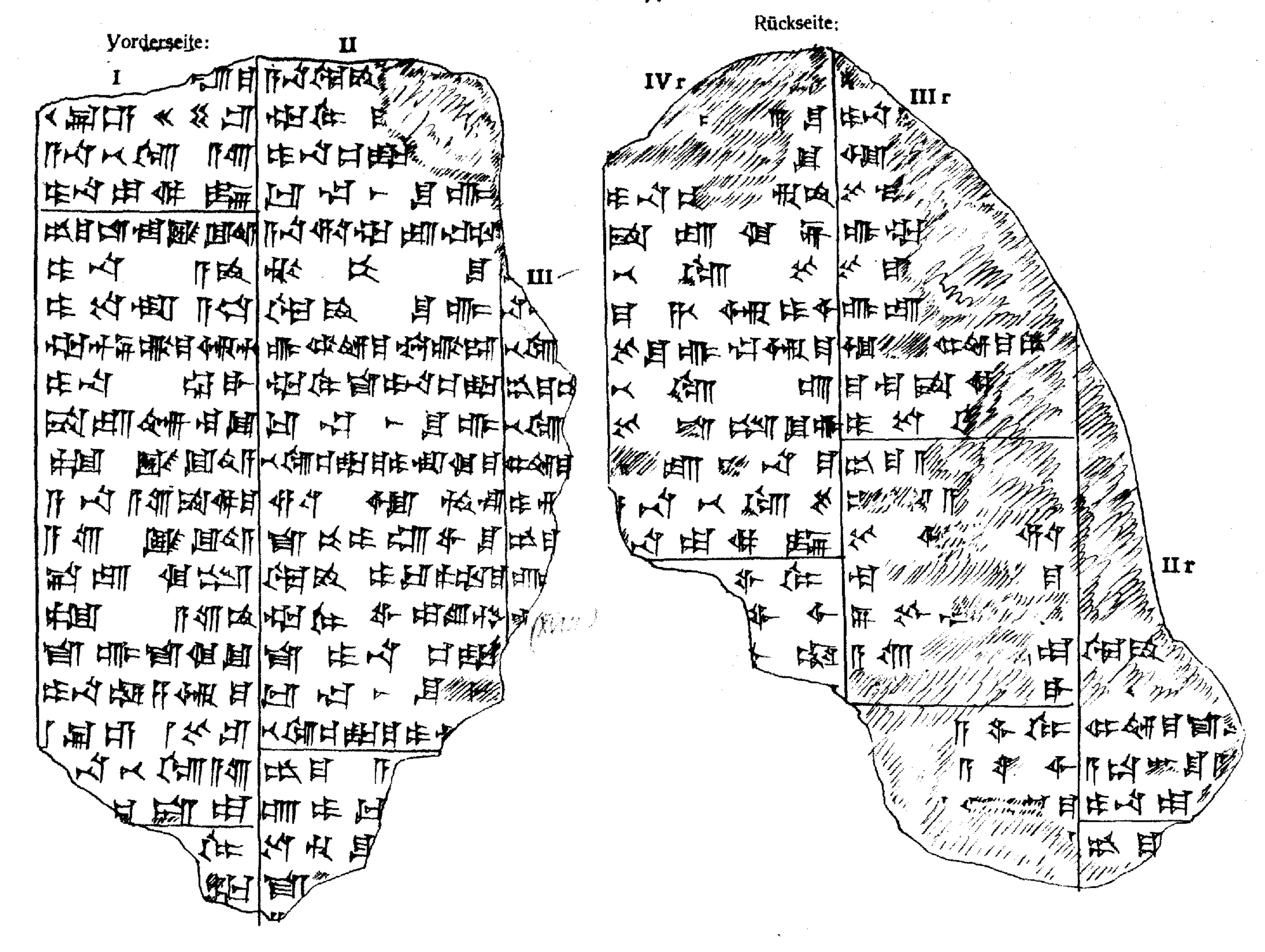
3. Assyrische Fragmente.



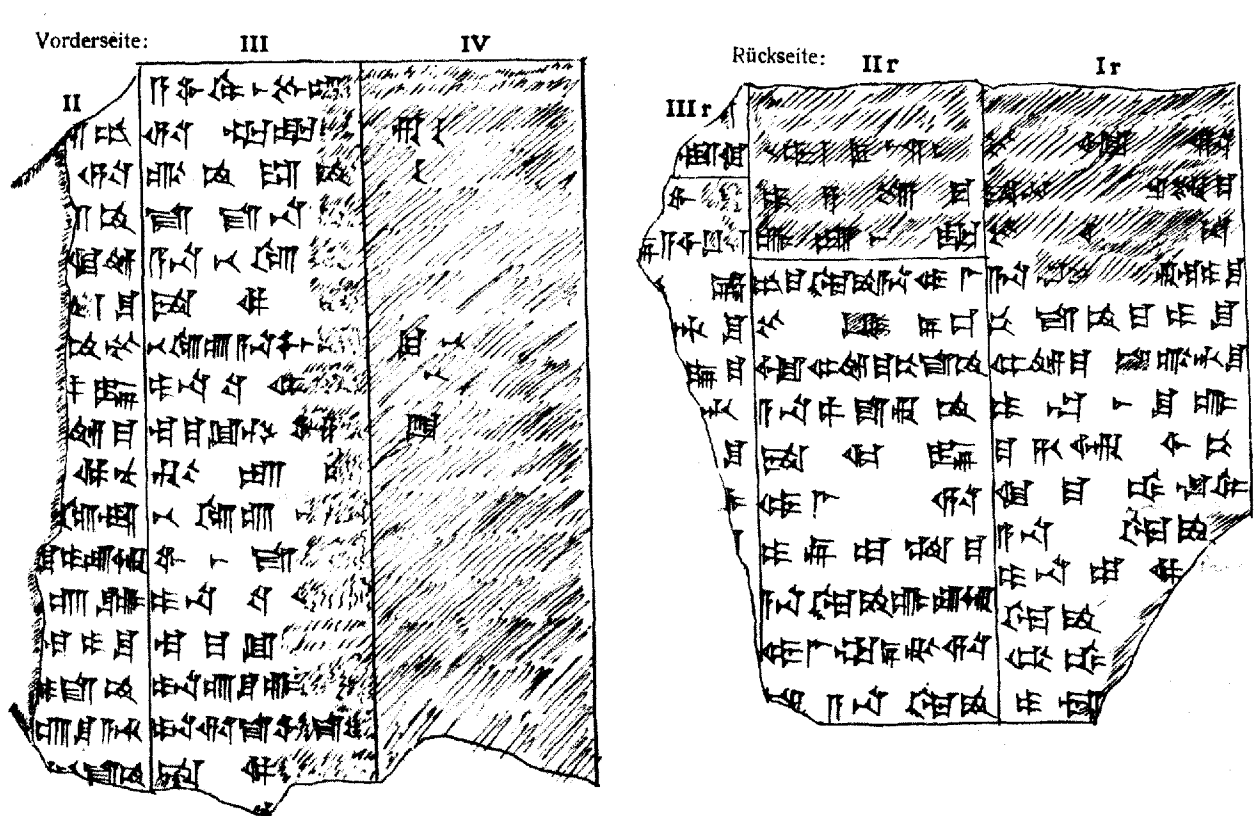

d. K 10485.
IV r
III r
II r
e. K 11571.
I r
Vorderseite:
Rückseite:
III r
f. Sm. 26.
III r
IV r
g. Sm. 1008 a.
II r
I r
h. Sm. 1642.
i. Sm. 1672.

3. Assyrische Fragmente.

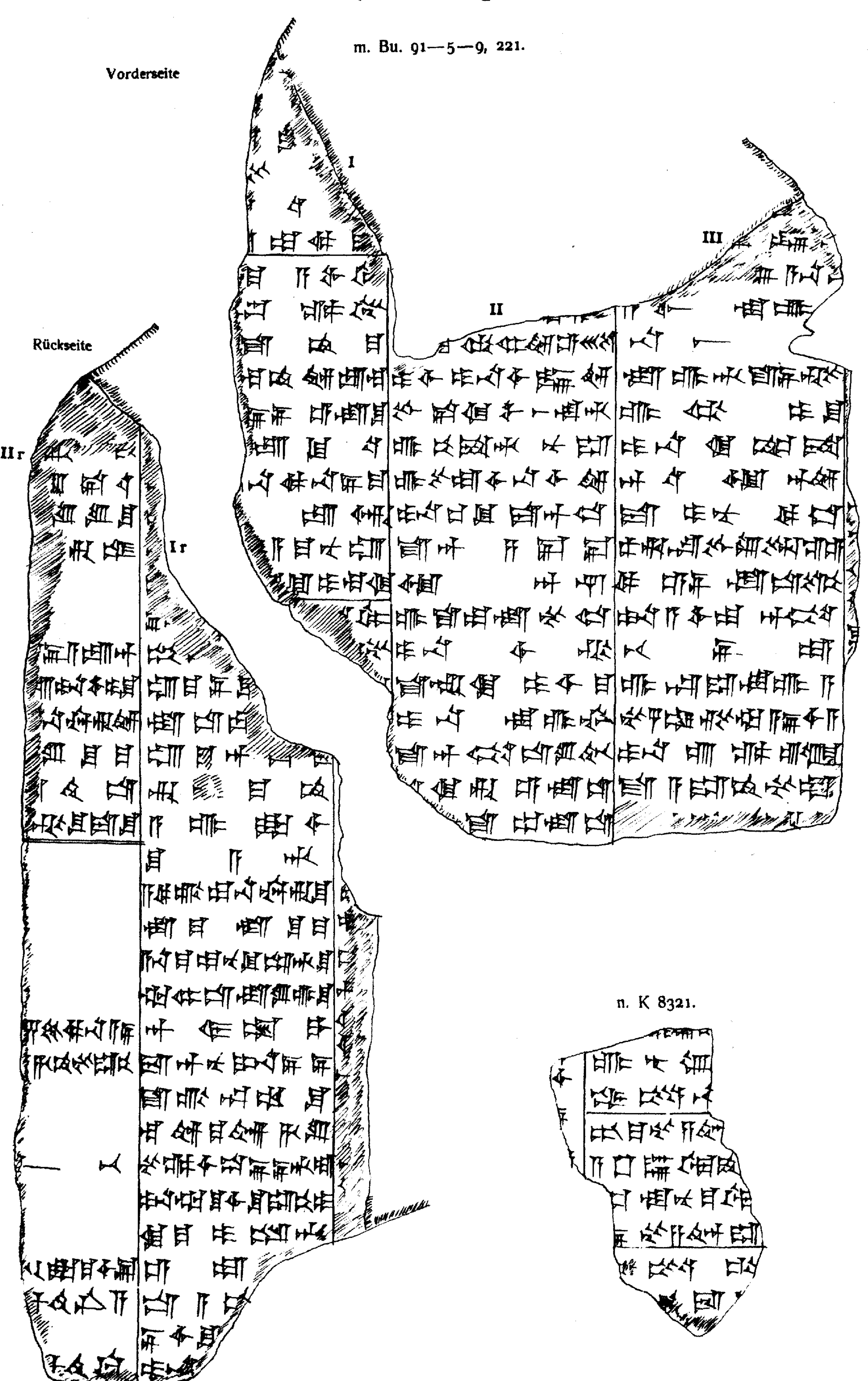
k. Rm. 277.



l. DT 81.

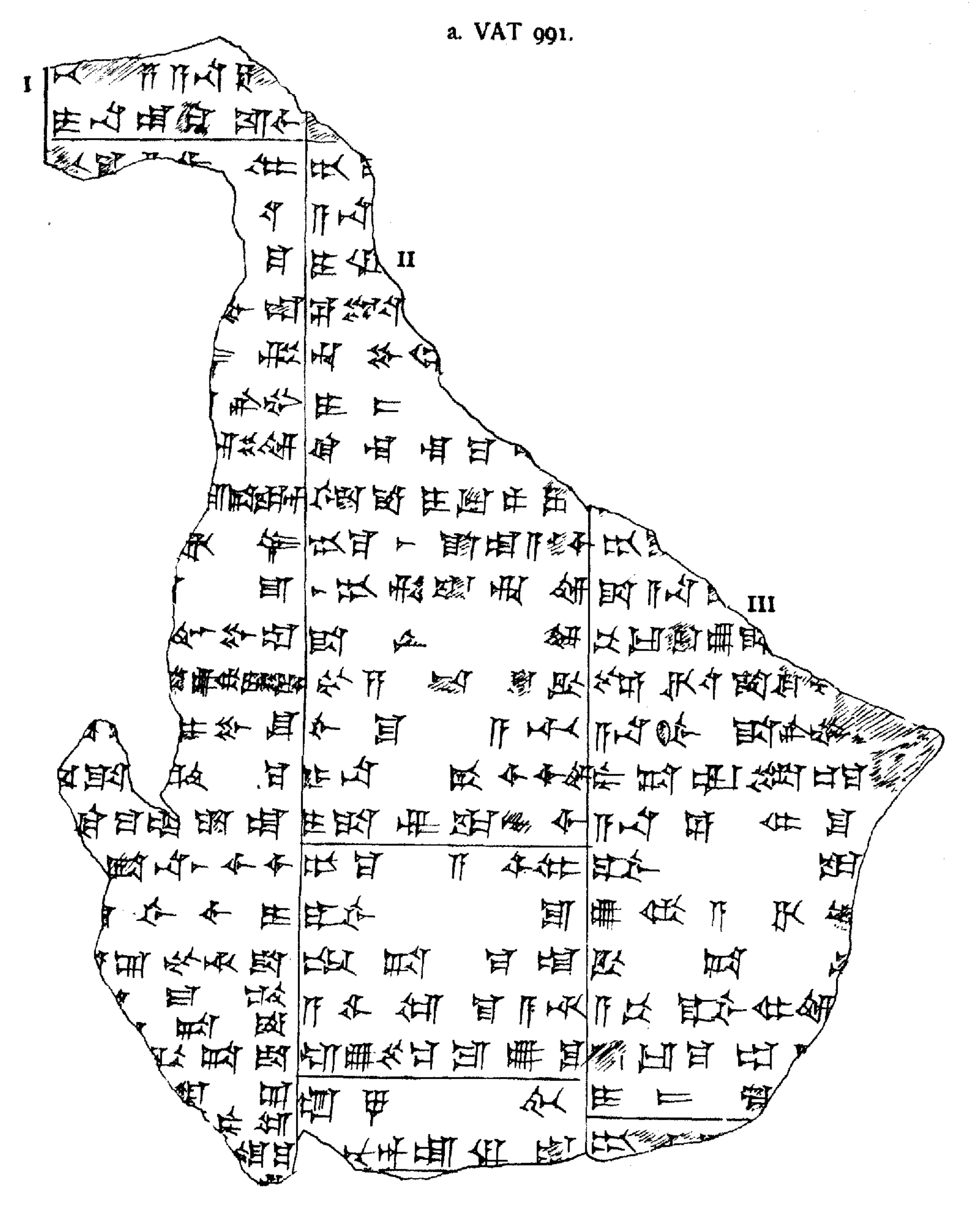


3. Assyrische Fragmente.



4. Neubabylonische Fragmente.

a. VAT 991.



b. VAT 1036.

Fragment einer Tontafel aus Susa
enthaltend §§ 153, 154, 155 + 156:
Scheil, RA 18 (1921) 147-149

Langdon, A fragment of the HC. PSBA 1914 100 ff.
(2+?43 §§ der Lücke, hinter §96.)

Clay, Fragment of the Hammurabi Code
YOS I p 45, pl XX (Teile §§ 165, 166, 170, 171, 173-175)

Langdon Fragment of the Code of Hammurapi § 145-179
BEUP XXXI p 49-51, pl 20 f. ?f

Poebel Fourth (?) tablet of the Code of Hammurabi
PBS V pl XXXIX f CVIII f = HGT
dazu OLZ 15. 161-169, 193-200, 225-230, 257-265
Scheil RA 13 (1916) 49-53; Koschaker OLZ 23, 65 ff.

Schroeder KAV 7. 190-192

vgl. OLZ '23. 65 ff
(Liste neuer Ham.-Fgm.)

Pognon JA 11. Série 9 (1917) 411 ff. (neuaus)

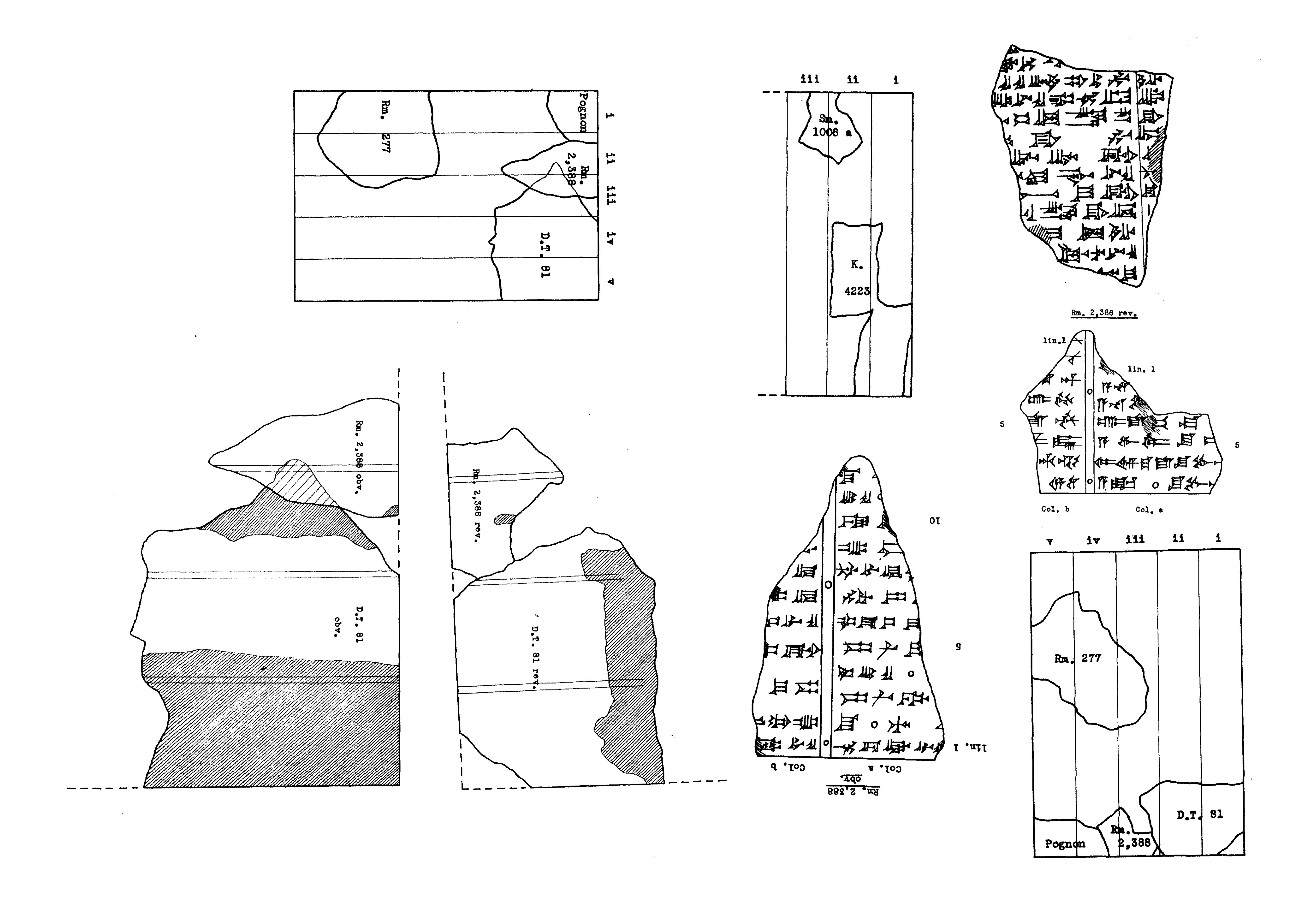
Berlin BE 35 271 (AO 31.3/4 5² erwähnt) [Proömium]
Sollberger, ZA 56 (1964) 130 ff. (§ 275-277)



AO 7757 Obverse



AO 7757 Reverse



Pognon
Rm. 277
Rm. 2,388
D.T. 81
i
ii
iii
iv
v
Rm. 2,388 obv.
D.T. 81 obv.
Rm. 2,388 rev.
D.T. 81 rev.
iii
ii
i
Sm. 1008 a
K. 4223
Rm. 2,388 obv.
Col. a
Col. b
lin. 1
5
10
Rm. 2,388 rev.
lin. 1
lin. 1
5
5
Col. b
Col. a
v
iv
iii
ii
i
Rm. 277
D.T. 81
Rm. 2,388
Pognon